

IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
RELATIONS

Disarmament would be bound to have favorable effects on the development of international relations. The political détente that would accompany an international disarmament program would in itself imply that nations were willing to reconsider their economic relations with one another.

The relaxation of international tensions would provide a sound basis for reduction of trade barriers and for modification of existing trade agreements and trading practices. An important consequence of this would be a substantial increase in trade between the centrally planned economies and the rest of the world.

Since disarmament may be expected to result in an acceleration of economic growth, it should stimulate the growth of demand for primary production in general. Accelerated economic growth would be still more powerful in increasing total demand for manufactures.

The overall impact of disarmament on the trade of underdeveloped countries is likely to be favorable, not only because of the acceleration of economic growth but also because of the greatly expanded aid to be expected from the more advanced countries.

Some exports of primary products, such as petroleum, rubber, and most metallic ores, depend significantly at present on direct and indirect demand generated by military purchases. Provided, however, that military expenditures were fully replaced by public and private nonmilitary spending, the impact on overall demand for these commodities would be only minor.

There might, however, be instances in which declines in demand for particular commodities would cause appreciable difficulties. In these cases consideration should be given to special aid for the countries concerned, in the same way as for particular industries or areas within the principal disarming countries. For most other primary commodities, the reallocation of military expenditure to civilian use would probably bring about a net increase in demand.

During the conversion period changes in the level of aggregate economic activity associated with disarmament in the major industrial countries would be a major determinant of the level of international trade.

It is believed that significant fluctuations in the general level of international trade could be avoided, but it should, nevertheless, be realized that any failure to achieve this goal could have serious consequences.

Regardless of the technique employed, no country should be allowed to suffer a disruption to its economic life, even temporarily, as a result of disarmament.

EFFECTS ON THE VOLUME AND FRAMEWORK OF
AID FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

National efforts and international cooperation in the development of the underdeveloped countries have so far not brought about the desired acceleration of economic growth. A much larger volume of resources could be allocated to investment for productive development in these countries even if only a fraction of the resources currently devoted to military purposes were used in this way.

Disarmament could thus bring about a marked increase in the rate of growth of real income in the poorer parts of the world.

Bilateral and multilateral programs of aid each have their own particular advantages and disadvantages, but, insofar as political circumstances have had any weight in determining the direction and form of aid, effective disarmament and the related lessening of international tensions should improve the prospects for more cooperative international action.

Since repayment of loans granted on commercial terms may impose heavy burdens on

the balances of payments of the underdeveloped countries, as large a proportion of economic aid as possible should take the form of grants or soft loans.

Because the competing claims in developed countries are also urgent, there is a serious possibility that the financial resources released by disarmament might be rapidly absorbed by purely national aims. It is therefore desirable that an appropriate proportion of these resources should be allocated to international aid in its various forms simultaneously with their use for domestic purposes.

Foreign aid, however, can play only a supplementary role in the development of these countries and the responsibility for initiation and intensification of development efforts would continue to lie entirely with the governments and peoples concerned.

SOME SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

In a disarmed world a general improvement could be expected in the level of living, including an increase in leisure. With the end of the armament race, governments would accord social objectives a higher priority.

The psychological, moral, and material evils of compulsory military service and of stationing troops away from their homes would be avoided; so would the danger that security considerations and the Armed Forces might play an excessive role in forming the values of the community. Scientific cooperation and the arts would benefit from an extension of international exchanges.

CONCLUSION

The consultative group is unanimously of the opinion that all the problems and difficulties of transition connected with disarmament could be met by appropriate national and international measures. There should thus be no doubt that the diversion to peaceful purposes of the resources now in military use could be accomplished to the benefit of all countries and lead to the improvement of world economic and social conditions. The achievement of general and complete disarmament would be an unqualified blessing to all mankind.

(During the delivery of Mr. HUMPHREY's speech:)

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

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Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, Americans cherish, as one of our unalterable traditions, the right of freedom of expression.

This right was exercised a few weeks ago when a group of college students

visited Washington in a movement designated "turn toward peace." This right has again been exercised by a group of fine young Nebraskans who are members of the student council of the Scottsbluff High School, Scottsbluff, Nebr. I quote their resolution:

Whereas we endorse a policy of total victory in the cold war for the United States; and

Whereas we feel that the "turn toward peace" march is not in the best interests of that policy: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the Scottsbluff Senior High School Student Council censures the "turn toward peace" march and the four points for which it stands.

The resolution adopted by this student council is transmitted by its secretary, Dolores Miller. In addition I quote the closing paragraph of the student council's letter of transmittal:

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Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

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Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING DURING
SENATE SESSION

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary be permitted to sit during the remainder of the session today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

GENEVA DISARMAMENT
CONFERENCE

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, I regret that I did not hear the comments of the Senator from Minnesota concerning the developments at the Geneva conference, which will soon be in session. I understand he made extensive remarks about the possibilities of disarmament.

I wonder whether the Senator referred in any way to the development in South Vietnam and the newspaper accounts which indicate the possibility that we are already involved in an undeclared war in that country. Did the Senator comment on that situation?

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The subject to which the Senator from Idaho has referred has been discussed with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER],

the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY], and other Senators, who are ranking members of the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Foreign Relations and who participate in the leadership.

The Senator is referring to a very serious matter in which our country is attempting to give technical assistance and military instruction to aid a valiant people who are doing their level best, under tremendous odds, to fight off the Communist attack from the north and to sustain their independence and freedom in South Vietnam. It is to be hoped that the people of South Vietnam will be able to win this struggle. It is to be hoped that the Communist advance in southeast Asia can be checked. It is to be hoped that American participation in this area can be limited to military assistance, to supplies, and to military training, and it is my view, I state so that there will be no doubt about it, that it should be so limited.

In all of this activity, there is a grave risk; but I say most sincerely that the greatest risk is Communist aggression, Communist conquest, and Communist advance. That we cannot permit, if it is humanly possible to stop it.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota further yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. DWORSHAK. I share the Senator's anxiety and apprehension concerning the seriousness of the Soviet aggression in South Vietnam, if that be a fact. I feel certain that most Americans recognize the need for taking an aggressive position against further encroachment by the forces of North Vietnam in that part of the world.

Does the Senator know whether the United Nations has taken any official position on supporting in any way the unilateral action currently being carried on by the United States?

Mr. HUMPHREY. No; I do not believe that that has been done. To my knowledge, I believe it has not been done. However, I feel that this is a matter which has had full and concurrent support and response from Members of Congress, on both sides of the aisle, who are deeply concerned with the situation. I hope it will have the support of every Senator, so far as assistance goes.

When it comes to the question of open involvement on a rather large scale on the part of U.S. forces, if that should be contemplated, or if it should happen, I would be one of the first along with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. DWORSHAK], I believe, to ask some very serious questions and to be very deeply disturbed.

Mr. DWORSHAK. I understand that the Senator from Minnesota, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, is very knowledgeable in every way and has access to the information relating to such developments. Does not the Senator think it is time for the United Nations to give some official recognition to this situation; and if the Soviet aggression is as serious in Vietnam as everyone apparently recognizes, is there not an imperative need of our

getting the help of the free nations of the world in an effort to meet that threat?

Mr. HUMPHREY. It is my view—and I have said this before; it is not new with me—that the situation in South Vietnam, just as in Laos, should be subject to United Nations concern. United Nations action, and United Nations resolution. As the Senator from Idaho well knows, an international commission was established for South Vietnam and North Vietnam as a result, I believe, of the Geneva Conference in 1953—

Mr. DWORSHAK. 1954.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Or 1954. This brings the problem within the purview of the United Nations. But the action now taking place in Vietnam is a threat to the peace; and as a threat to the peace, it is not simply our responsibility. Surely it would come within the purview of SEATO, which is an alliance for the protection of southeast Asia. But, more significantly, I think, as the Senator from Idaho has wisely pointed out, it should be a matter of concern and of action on the part of the United Nations.

I thank the Senator from Idaho for his cooperation and observation.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate—and I believe there is none—I move that the Senate adjourn, under the order previously entered, until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 57 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned, under the order previously entered, until tomorrow, Tuesday, March 13, 1962, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 12, 1962:

U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE

Jesse E. Eschbach, of Indiana, to be U.S. district judge for the northern district of Indiana, vice Luther M. Swygert, elevated.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Maj. Gen. Marshall Sylvester Carter, O18359, Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army), for appointment as Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency, with the rank of lieutenant general, under the provisions of Public Law 15, 83d Congress, and section 3065, title 10, United States Code.

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3284 and 3305:

To be colonels

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Aboosh, Norman D., O32171.
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Ackroyd, Gilbert G., O31813.
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Aines, Andrew A., O43463.
Akens, Thomas W., O40076.
Albaugh, Cornelius, Jr., O40268.
Albert, Jack F., O32097.
Alexander, Rowan P., O42979.
Allen, Ben E., O32103.

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Alley, John A., Jr., O52203.
Allgeier, Robert M., O42822.
Allwine, Franklin N., O43661.
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Anderson, Truett C., O38804.
Angel, Nicholas C., O31789.
Angster, Robert C., O32124.
Antozzi, William O., O43307.
Archer, Norman R., O38968.
Arey, Carlyle W., O30642.
Armstrong, Chalmers H., Jr., O31877.
Arnold, Edgar LeR., O31902.
Arnold, Thomas St. J., O32040.
Artman, George, O21342.
Ashby, Raymond C., Jr., O43320.
Ashworth, Robert L., O21308.
Ashworth, Talmadge DeW., O70969.
Atkins, Woodrow W., O43292.
Attaway, Elmer J., O40321.
Austin, Edward W., O51789.
Ayres, Laurence T., Jr., O43715.
Babcock, Jack E., O21413.
Baerman, Charles P., O40273.
Bailey, Edward A., O21083.
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Baker, Marshall W., O43558.
Ball, Raymond C., O52184.
Banks, Richard G., O43407.
Bannon, James E., Jr., O31830.
Barefield, William C., O42763.
Barker, Stockbridge H., O38949.
Barlow, Rudolph, O31835.
Barr, John, O40148.
Barrell, Richard, O32104.
Barth, Luther R., O43418.
Bauer, Elmer H., O43502.
Baumgartner, John W., O43642.
Beard, William N., O20154.
Beardsley, Ford M., O40311.
Beattie, Fountain F., Jr., O52265.
Beaty, Harold E., O38930.
Beck, Clarence E., O21239.
Beck, John N., O40258.
Beddow, James H., O21446.
Beebe, John L., O39970.
Beeson, John J., 3d, O32013.
Beggs, Edwin G., O20297.
Bellsie, Maurice A., O52175.
Belland, Walter T., O43450.
Belote, Byron G., O42851.
Benedict, Harold B., O31566.
Benford, James A., O51676.
Benson, Wilmer K., O21423.
Bergin, Gerald A., O51722.
Besse, Warren E., O39988.
Beverley, William W., O21107.
Bieri, George A., O40298.
Billings, Edward R., O39945.
Bissell, Edward B., O21360.
Bixby, George W., O21056.
Blackmarr, William H., O42836.
Blake, Charles J., Jr., O21122.
Blake, William L., O30751.
Blancett, Rollie N., O21416.
Blight, Edward M., O40191.
Blocker, Jack S., O32118.
Boas, Philippe P., O39960.
Bogart, Frank A., O40325.
Boleyn, Paul T., O20903.
Bolling, Jean H., O31817.
Bonifay, Isaac F., O40061.
Bonniwell, Alfred E., O42931.
Booth, Robert M., O19964.
Botts, Joseph H., O31514.
Bowers, William S., O38973.
Bowman, Harold M., Jr., O43601.
Boyd, Robert P., Jr., O40068.
Boyer, Jack W., O32145.
Boyles, Samuel J., O32168.
Boyt, John E., O21304.
Brack, Joseph L., O51746.
Brady, Lawrence W., O30703.
Bragdon, Kerlin J., O42766.
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Barth, Luther R., O43418.
Bauer, Elmer H., O43502.
Baumgartner, John W., O43642.
Beard, William N., O20154.
Beardsley, Ford M., O40311.
Beattie, Fountain F., Jr., O52265.
Beaty, Harold E., O38930.
Beck, Clarence E., O21239.
Beck, John N., O40258.
Beddow, James H., O21446.
Beebe, John L., O39370.
Beeson, John J., 3d, O32013.
Beggs, Edwin G., O20297.
Bellisle, Maurice A., O52175.
Belland, Walter T., O43450.
Belote, Byron G., O42851.
Benedict, Harold B., O31566.
Benford, James A., O51676.
Benson, Wilmer K., O21423.
Bergin, Gerald A., O51722.
Besse, Warren E., O39988.
Beverley, William W., O21107.
Bieri, George A., O40298.
Billings, Edward R., O39945.
Bissell, Edward B., O21360.
Bixby, George W., O21056.
Blackmarr, William H., O42836.
Blake, Charles J., Jr., O21122.
Blake, William L., O30751.
Blancett, Rollie N., O21416.
Blight, Edward M., O40191.
Blocker, Jack S., O32118.
Boas, Philippe P., O39060.
Bogart, Frank A., O40325.
Boleyn, Paul T., O20903.
Boling, Jean H., O37817.
Bonifay, Isaac F., O40061.
Bonniwell, Alfred E., O42931.
Booth, Robert M., O19964.
Botts, Joseph H., O31514.
Bowers, William S., O38973.
Bowman, Harold M., Jr., O43601.
Boyd, Robert P., Jr., O40068.
Boyer, Jack W., O32145.
Boyles, Samuel J., O32168.
Boyt, John E., O21304.
Brack, Joseph L., O51746.
Brady, Lawrence W., O30703.
Bragdon, Kerlin J., O42766.
Brannon, John M., O32156.